[Shri P. Shiv Shanker]

cate issue where I would request that the hon. Members sitting on the other side would lend a hand of support to the Government in seeing through a political solution on this issue. To my mind, we are not that disappointed not to find a solution. As I said, we will strive every nerve to see that some solution is possible. I appreciate the emotions, the sentiments that have been expressed on the other side. I am sure if some of the hon. Members who have spoken with so much emotion were to stand in my place, perhaps they would have been too sobre or more sobre perhaps than me. I am grateful to the hon. Members for the suggestions that have been made over the time. I would also make all efforts to see how best to sort out the issue. I share the concern. I want to end up by saying, of the hon. Members that they have expressed about the situation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now further consideration of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund (Repeal) Bill, 1986. Last speaker, Shri S. W. Dhabe, to continue his unfinished speech.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: I hope we will have tea interval today. You have skipped over our lunch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, we continue.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. Ramakrishnan) in the Chair.

THE COAL MINES LABOUR WELFARE FUND (REPEAL) BILL, 1986— *Contd.*

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I was referring to the question about coal workers' strike on 9th April 1986 for various demands, one of which was ensuring employment to dependents of retiring employees as per the agreement. They have made an agreement between the workers' representatives and the management. It was not proper on the part of the Government and Coal India to turn about and take a stand that this provision has been found to be unconstitutional and is not being acted upon even in the steel sector. I go further and say that though the agreement was made it has been nullified by a directive of the Bureau of Public Enterprises. It is most surprising for Coal India or any public sector to say that dependents of retired employees will not be given jobs. This is very serious and I think the Government should review the situation and allow the agreement to be implemented. The coal-miners spend their whole lives in the area which is congested, in a bad atmosphere, and lead hazardous lives. One foot always in grave.

There are two other points which I have to make. There are two problems which I find when I go to the collieries and to which not much attention is being paid by the Ministry. One is the problem of pollution. If you go to the collieries, you will find that near the houses of the miners, because of burning of coal there is so much of gas. Details are given that many persons are affected by it. I do not know whether any health survey is made by Coal-India or its subsidiaries about the pollution problem in the collieries because of burning of coal and other pollutants.

Secondly, I find that unlike the Railways, Coal-India does not give much encouragement to sports. Football is very popular and if adequate sports facilities, specially for football, are created, it will go a long a way in creating outstanding sportsmen. There should be more of promotion of sports.

Sir, I cannot support the abolition of this Act for two reasons. Firstly, the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act is a statutory legislation and its functions are very important. In the Labour Ministry's annual report for 1985-86, on page 22 it is stated:

> '8.2 The funds have been created by levy of cess on production or consumption or export of the minerals and in the case of beedi on the manufactured

beedies. The Welfare measures financed out of the funds relate to development of medical facilities, housing, supply of drinking water, support for education of dependents, recreation, etc. While most of the activities are administered directly by the Welfare Organisation, loans and subsidies are also provided to the State Governments, local authorities and to the employers for implementation of approved schemes."

But these are not available with Coal India.

Paragraph 8.4 on page 22 says:

"For the purpose of formulation of policy and programmes under different Funds, provision has been made for constitution of Tripartite Central and State Advisory Bodies. All the Committees under different Welfare Funds have since been constituted and regular meetings of the Committees are being convened."

Now, this Bill does not provide for a Housing Board or what will be its constitution or for Welfare Fund Committees. The State Advisory Boards are not there, nor is there the Central Advisory Committee. So it is only a negative legislation to abolish the Fund. Even if the Act was continued and levy was made, it does not prohibit Coal India from spending additional money for aditional welfare facilities. Therefore, I suggest to the honourable Minister that he must remove the doubts in the minds of the coal workers by assuring that the committees will be constituted, and stating the nature of the committees and other things. They may not be statutory bodies but at least there should be standing bodies having definite regulations to control them with safeguards to ensure that the bureaucracy will not be allowed to interfere with their management. It should also be ensured that the advice of the workers' representatives will be taken because it will be more useful since they are the persons who have to enjoy those benefits. The Housing Board and Coal Mines Welfare Committees, both are absent in this. Under these circumstances, I would like to know from the Minister what is his view so far as the functions of these bodies are concerned.

THE MINISTER OF ENERGY (SHRI VASANT SATHE): Sir, at the outset I must thank all the honourable Members who have participated in this debate and made very valuable suggestions. As I began by saying, this Bill only aims at abolishing the Fund which had outlived its utility because it was brought in when the coal mines were not nationalised and because the private employers were not having any welfare activity. Therefore, by imposing a cess this fund was created. But after the nationalisation when welfare became one of the primary duties of the nationalised sector, it really became redundant. As I said for this, a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Ray. It had given its report. It had consulted all trade unions and their representatives. And only thereafter we brought in this proposal. Sir, the total amount under that fund was just Rs. 12 crores. But after the nationalisation the Government and the Coal India Limited spent more than Rs. 400 crores on welfare. Actually Sir, we have now provided Rs. 842 crores to be spent in the Seventh Five Year Plan for welfare.

Sir, again, one thing which many hon. Members have said is that for welfare we have not done enough. I agree that all that we wanted to do or should have done to satisfy every employee, to provide every facility to every employee, has not been achieved and much needs to be done. But after the nationalisation the picture is not that dismal. I will just give certain facts Sir, to illustrate the welfare work that the Coal India Limited has done. In housing in 1973-74 the satisfaction was 20 per

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

cent, and 1,18,366 houses were provided. In 1985 this figure has gone up to 2,59 293, and the satisfaction is 42 per cent. Just within a period of 10 to 12 years we have doubled the effort. As far as drinking water is concerned, hardly 2,27,300 workmen had drinking water facilities in 1973. Today that figure has gone up to 17,24,000. This will show eight times increase. As per the agreement NCWA-3 5122 beds should have been provided. We have been able to provide 4,163 beds, a little less. Dispensaries as per the agreement, should have been 363. Fortunately we have provided 400 dispensaries. Ambulances about which a reference was made, should have been 439; we have provided 485. About the educational facilities, Sir, the figures are; primary schools, 510; middle schools 202; high schools, 104; secondary schools, 13; higher-secondary schools, 29; colleges and polytechnics 29; total 895. Under the NCWA-3 a hundred school buildings were to be constructed under the agreement; we have been able to construct 76 schools There is a shortfall.

Sir, as I said, from a meagre amount of Rs. 6 crores per annum in 1972-73 for welfare, we have given Rs. 102 crores per annum in 1985-86. The total is Rs. 470 crores.

And as I said we are providing Rs. 842 crores in the Seventh Five Year Plan. As to the fatalities again references were made and emotional submissions were made that enough is not being done. I have held a meeting with the Committee dealing with this and I myself had expressed a very serious concern that even in a single death, after all that man loses his own life and it is not a happy thing for any one. Therefore, it is no use talking in terms of percentages because that man who dies is one hundred per cent gone. So, what is the whole fun in talking about percentages ? Yet, people have been saying that we should have reduced to one per cent per million tonne. The position is that in 1976, there were 244 fatalities because of accidents. In 1985 it came down to 143. In terms of per tonne it comes to 1.9 per million tonne as against 2.63 per million tonne in 1976.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): That is the biggest misjudgment. Since production has picked up, therefore per tonne it is bound to go down.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: But in absolute term I have given you the figures. In absolute terms also from 244 it has come down to 143 That means *half the number. That is a reduction.* You must be appreciative of that at least. As far as serious injuries are concerned, in 1976 there were 1,249. It has come down to 528. But again as I myself said why even this much should be—140 lives lost or 528 people injured? So, we have to be concerned about that. I agree.

Because the hon. Members enlarged the scope about the very basic issue about what we are doing with the coal industry as a whole, I would like to plead with the hon. Members to consider certain facts. What is it that we have been wanting to do? When we nationalised this sector and in fact when we launched upon the entire planning process, what was the objective in our mind? I believe everyone will agree that the objective was that we should utilise public funds and resources so that we could produce infrastructure commodities on a large scale in most economic manner so that this sector would have a commanding height in the economy and by growth of the infrastructure sector, we would provide raw material for industrial growth in the rural sector so that our whole country develops in a balanced manner. After all, poverty cannot be removed unless our people in the rural areas get productive work and remuneration because it is want of purchasing power to buy even the basic necessities of life that is poverty.

Now, how do we do this if we stagnate our coal production? What would happen if our coal production becomes so costly that only a very small section of society can afford to buy the energy produced from that or even the coal directly? I would like to give certain figures for the benefit of my friends who believe in Leftist policy who believe in socialism and who believe in socialistic principles.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: You also believed in socialism.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Not once upon a time. I still continue to believe in it, I am not shy of saying that. I believe in the principle of democratic socialism. But let us understand whether we have tried really to bring about a socialist society—a society where there is welfare for all—a society where there is balanced growth—a society where maximum number of people of this country have the wherewithal and have the purchasing power to have at least necessities of life. Sir, I had given certain figures taken from the National Sample Survey in the book which I have written in 1983. These figures are based on 1981 census.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: What is the name of that book?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It is "Towards the Social Revolution for Economic Democracy".

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Your own book.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Yes, Sir, my own book.

I am more concerned with the figures. The commentary part the hon. Members may agree or disagree The fact is that those whose per capita income in 1980-81 census was less than Rs. 1,200 per annum in rural areas was 92 per cent of our population. Those who were between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 per month were hardly above 7.48 per cent. Those whose income was above Rs. 200 were just 0.92 per cent. In urban areas, the picture was 75 per cent who were below Rs. 100 per month. Those whose income was between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 were 20 per cent. Those whose income was Rs. 200 above were just 5.2 per cent. So let us understand the magnitude of the problem. With Rs. 1,200 per annum income of our 90 per cent of 80 per cent of our population for whom are we producing? If this is the purchasing power for whom are we producing? Now what should have been our objective? As I said earlier if we really wanted socialism, our objective should have been to produce infrastructure on a very large scale. We have excellent natural resources. We have one of the best iron-ore deposits in the world. We have one of the biggest coal deposits in the world. We have got large deposits of bauxite and other minerals. Now, please consider these figures. We produce 154 million tonnes of coal When we nationalised in 1972, we were producing 77 million tonnes of coal and the total investment was Rs. 50 crores. After nationalisation and till 1985-86, we have invested Rs. 6,000 crores. This is public money. How much have we added? It is just double. Now, the total is 154 million tonnes.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Who is to be blamed?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will come to that. I am not wanting to score a debating point. Mr. Gurudas Das Guptaji, I am placing certain facts before this House so that we can understand where we have gone wrong as a country. And it will tell you where we as representatives of the people have also erred. I will come to that. Just bear with me...

3 P.M.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): How much of the money has gone to the workers?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will tell you. I will give you all those figures. That is precisely what I want to do.

As I said Rs. 6,000 crores have been invested and the extra production is 77 million tonnes. The wage of the worker which was in 1975-76 Rs. 16 per day, at current prices has today increased to Rs. 102 per day at today's prices.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: And the price of coal?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will tell you. The price of coal was Rs. 37 per tonne in 1973-74. Today it is Rs. 210 per tonne. (*Interruptions*) If you will just bear with me a little, instead of having this running commentary, I will give you all facts, and then we can come to the conclusions.

Sir, as far as output-man-shift is concerned, let us have a comparison with a country which is similar to ours. China, which had similar problems of overpopulation and other things, which was having a lower production than ours in 1949, today has a production of 750 million tonnes. And what is their OMS? If you take some of the major coal-producing countries, the output-man-shift per day for Australia is 16 tonnes; USA, 16.3 tonnes; China, 2.1 tonnes and India 0.87 tonnes. Don't comment just now. Let us understand the facts. Then we will come to the comment part. The earning per worker as related to output in Australia is—in terms of rupees—Rs. 1168 per day. In the USA he earns Rs. 1436 per day because he produces 16 tonnes. In China a worker earns Rs. 24 because he produces 2.1 tonnes—the ratio being Rs. 12 per tonne.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): What about India?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: In India a worker earns Rs. 85 per day. These are the figures of 1984. Today, as I said, in 1986 he earns Rs. 102. And he produces 0.86 tonnes, less than one.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: How do you get this Rs. 85 per day? What is the minimum pay of a worker?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: The minimum pay of a worker today is Rs. 2,000 and more.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Minimum pay?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Yes. The minimum pay of our coal mine worker is Rs. 2,000. That is what he is earning. And there are other facilities in addition. This is the problem. He was earning Rs. 16 per day. Today he earns Rs. 102 per day. From Rs. 16 the salary has gone up to Rs. 102. I am trying to.....

SHRI S. W. DHABE: That includes welfare?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Welfare is in addition. That is extra. This is just the wage. The underground OMS in Australia is 11 tonnes. Even in European countries it is four or five tonnes. In our country it is 0.53, less than half. And in open cast it should be 26, 27 as in Australia or Canada, with the same equipment that we have got. But ours is 2.10. Please try to understand this. What have we done and why? The reason is that whereas on one side we have said that this is public sector, public money, must have more production, give freely for

investment Parliament must pass, this is capital intensive; we brought that mechanisation as was available in Russia, because much of the equipment we got from Russia or Poland or Germany or UK; all for these open cast, long wall, underground or big dredgers haulers, dumpers, all this spending—the major amount has been spent, as you will see, on machinery, on equipment. But what happens to this equipment if we do not utilise this equipment and get the same production as is done in other countries and what will be the results? . . .

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Whose fault?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: All right, my fault: does that satisfy you? Okay. Now hear me and then you will understand whose fault it is. If you were to say instead of one worker who can man that dredger, we must have ten workers, then you will see your OMS comes down because you cannot have both mechanisation capital intensive production and also say that this is public sector and therefore it must be labour intensive as well because the social obective is that the maximum number of people must be employed. When we nationalised, there were about 5 lakh employees. Today there are 7½ lakh employees. Employees have grown, mechanisation has grown, but production just doubled. That is all. My dear, Sir, if this is the way we want to run the public sector in this country, if you all friends are to say, no, the employees must get the maximum wages, yes, the employees must produce the minimum, that also, then, please tell us, the cost of coal will become 210, the cost of energy will become about a rupee per unit; and what will be the end-product cost? Who will get the end-product? Just a small section of the society less than 5 crores in this country who will have the purchasing power to buy these goods that you produce at this cost. The main fault lies on us trade union leaders. And I have spent all my life and I stand next to none in this House as far as championing the case of workers is concerned...

SHRI VIJAYA MOHANA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): All the managerial staff have got houses, refrigerators, latest equipment, big houses furnished with latest gadgets aircoolers, every thing. As far as workers are concerned, the people who acually work, not even 20 per cent of them are provided with any kind of housing, electricity or water supply or anything like that. We have not demanded higher wages, we have demanded basic facilities for a minimum decent living both inside and outside the mine.

SHRI VASANTH SATHE: I think the hon. Member was not here when I narrated the figures about drinking water facilities, about housing, and so on. You were not there. We have tried to do some thing although I agree that this is not enough. All I am saying is: Where does the worker stand today? Today he earns Rs. 24,000 per annum as against our brethren. You try to champion the cause of the working class. But what about the workers in the rural areas where the majority of our people are working? Sir, I said that 90 per cent of them do not earn even Rs. 1200 per annum, not even Rs. 100 per month And here we are trying to say this. I am not against our workers earning Rs. 2000 per month. No. All I am saying is that you should produce the minimum at least, produce as much as your counterpart in China does, if not more. Can we not do that? Can we not urge our workers to do that. Instead of saying that the management is having this, I am not having that and therefore put a refrigerator in the house of every workers only then you will produce? Is that your argument, Sir?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is a humiliating way of discussing the problem. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am not humiliating.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: This is the statement of the INTUC, of trade unions. The working conditions of the working classes are less satisfactory. This is what... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am not talking of this union or that union. Why are you getting worked up, Mr. Das Gupta? Don't get worked up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R RAMAKRISHNAN): Don't yield.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: You are putting the entire burden and responsibility, for the decline in coal production, on the workers as if there is no problem with your management. You are speaking only of how much you are spending on the workers and how less on.... (*Interruptions*) The only point you are making is this. This is the statement of the INTUC.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I was not referring to this union or that union. I did not even refer to the workers. I am just bringing out the fact. And I will come to the question why? I was just saying, is this what we expected from the management of the public sector? If it wanted to have the commanding heights, what should have happened? What should have happened is, together with the employees of the sectors we should have competed with the world to produce maximum infrastructure goods so that maximum employment could have been generated in the rural areas.

Sir, I will give another example, because I was dealing with this. Coal is a very important input for steel. Sir, kindly see. In our country we started in 1955 with one of the latest technologies for the steel. At that time we were producing about a million tonnes in the private sector—Tatas, Jamshedpur We started the public sector. Sir, do you know from 1955 to 1985 we have reached in five big steel plants a production of less than 6 million tonnes after investing Rs. 5000 crores. Now, kindly bear with me. Sir. In South Korea, another Asiatic country, a small country, they started in 1970 with a steel plant at Pohang, with the same technology as ours, identical. What did they do? Sir, they employed 14,500 workmen and produced 9 million tonnes by 1981-82—9 million tonnes in one plan, earned a profit of two billion dollars and started another plant at Kuang Yang and exported steel at Rs. 4000 a tonne all over the world, produce ships, ship-building activity and electronics. They did a miracle. In the same year, within ten years, they reached a target of Rs. 3000 crores worth of electronics export in 110 countries--an Asiatic country. 14,500 men produce 9 million tonnes. Do you know what we have done in the name of socialism, in the name of social welfare? We employed 1,25,000 persons to produce 5 million tonnes of steel. How will the economy work? Just understand this. How will steel producing become economic? How will coal-producing become economic? I will tell you what we have done. I am not blaming anybody. I am not trying to find fault with anybody. I am trying to appeal to those who believe in leftist philosophy and socialism. This was done in China. They produced 50 million tonnes. This was done in Soviet Russia. They produced goods on the basis of economy of scale with minimum man-power and maximum mechanisation and maximum capital. We should have done that so that we could have been producing 80 million tonnes of steel today with the iron ore that we have had. Of this steel, there would have been industries all over the country in rural areas. That is where employment could have been generated and crores and crores of our youngmen would have been employed in the rural areas. That is where we must bring socialism. But what did we do? We made infra-structure so costly and uneconomic right from the word 'go' and we called it social welfare and social objective and everyone here said: "No, no, maximum number of people must be employed here in steel-making and in coal-producing and maximum payment must be made to them". O. K. Fine. But then you have an economy of stagnation, high cost and cost push and you produce steel at Rs. 8000/- per ton and you produce coal at Rs. 210/- per ton. (*Interruptions*) I am not blaming anybody. I am blaming the system where the people who champion the cause of the working class and who talk of socialism are, in fact, unwitingfily, without knowing... (*Interruptions*) You will never understand me. I am not blaming you.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: I don't think you are saying that labour is the only factor responsible.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am not saying that. I am just pointing out the fact. Look. We who champion the cause of employees and we who champion the cause of public sector must insist that our public sector must produce infra-structure and goods on an economy of scale. We should produce maximum goods, maximum steel and maximum power. If we do this, then the logic of the thing becomes clear.

Then I come to my last point. How will this structure be brought abou ? How will this change be brought about? It has been my constant plea that the only way this can be brought about is by adopting a totally different work culture in our public sector. It must be a participatory work culture where all our employees are equal partners with the management. Sir,, in a public sector, who is the master? This concept of employer-employee in a public sector is a misnormer. Both are employees of the public. Therefore, all employees together must work as a team, must work as a family and must be accountable. Let us give them full authority as a team as participatory democracy. Sir, I have been trying it for the last two years and I have been talking with my friends and their representatives on how to have participation. Unfortunately, all these parleys have not brone fruit because extreme positions are taken.

What is the position today? We can, and I have proved that if you create a foiling of belonging in the working class, you can virtually bring about a miracle. This I have tried in Ramagundam, in Singarent Collieries. This has been tried in the Durgapur Fertilizer. Just create a feeling of belonging and see the change. In Singareni Coalfields, Sir, there used to be 400 strikes in 300 days for three years. And the production stagnated at 12 million tonnes whereas it should have been 16 million tonnes. See what the workers have achieved just by having this feeling of belonging. We said, we will take their representatives on the Management, all unions, doesn't matter. That is what I have decided. And what is the result? The result is that today the production has gone to 15.9 million tonnes. Just in one year, they increased by 4 million tonnes. Who did it? The workers did it. If you create a feeling of belonging and participation, the workers of India are not less than any workers anywhere in the world, but provided we ourselves, Sir, are interested in genuine participation of the workers. Now, what happens?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Why didn't you do it earlier?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: At least, now co-operate. But see what is happening. I talked to all the unions. The position is this: All workers must have a right to vote, secret ballot I said, okay, fine. But let them elect their own representatives from among the workers. That is the natural logic of workers' participation. But what did our friends say? Ah, no, no. They will elect, buy they will elect the union's people, the outsiders, may not be the workers. they will nominate and these people will elect them. How can you have this? Then, I gave an alternate proposal. I said, "All right, you want unions to be elected. We will give proportional representation to unions." In some cases, there are 20 unions. I gave an offer. Let all unions, registered unions, give their list on their own and I will not question their list. Give their list of membership. I will accept it. And all those unionised members will form the electorate because why should those who do not believe in any union at all have a right to interfere? So, I said, that list becomes an electorate and then they will elect unions. Let unions contest. And we said, those who have more than 10 per cent membership should be considered eligible to contest for participatory status. From such unions, on the basis of vote secured by them—40 per cent or 30 per cent or 20 per cent or whatever it is—we will give them representation in the management. Was it not a fair offer? But this also our friends of the CITU are not willing to accept. Everybody else has come round. The AITUC have come round, the HMS have come round, the INTUC have come round to this proposal. But the friends of the CITU say, no. They say, look, all workers will vote, whether they are

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members or not, but they will vote for union representatives." Now, how can you have the cake and eat it too? Is that fair? Is this democracy? Therefore, this is where the matter stuck up. If you co-operative, if you persude....

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: If you want that they can elect non-workers through that process which you are suggesting...

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Unions...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You are not allergic to non-workers being elected by the union.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: All those who are members of the unions.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Your objection is that if the workers allowed a vote, they might elect a non-worker, a union leader. Instead of that you are suggesting that if you want to elect union leaders, let the unions have proportional representation.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Let them give their list of membership. Only unionised members should have a right to vote.

They want it to have it that way.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: In that case they can elect a non-worker unanimously, that you concede?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Yes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: If you concede that what prevents you a total vote if they elec ..

SHRI VASANT SATHE: That is irrational.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: If the workers exercise their right in favour of someone who is a non-workers, you agree that they can do it?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You cannot have the cake and eat it too.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Who is going to offer the cake and who is going to eat it? It is not a question like that at all. It is as much in our interest as it is in yours. The workers give them the right.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: What right has he got?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: They have a right to elect whomsoever they want.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Even outsiders?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You have already agreed. He is a citizen of the country.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Then, my dear friend it is not workers' participation that you are asking for.

SHRI GURDAS DAS GUPTA: If the Minister is really serious about the participation of the working class, then he should have straightaway a dialogue with the trade unions and settle the issue there, instead of trying to score a point on the floor of Parliament just to identify one single organisation standing as a hurdle for the participation of the workers. This is not the way to tackle the trade union problem.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, my friends are exasperated because they really do not want participation by the workers representing the workers, of the workers. They want ...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Of course we want.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: ...outsiders to represent the workers in the name of workers' participation (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, how can this go on record?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Mr. Minister, you are a knowledgeable person. You know that even during the British days exactly on such issues the battle was fought by the working class. They insisted exactly in this manner. " Sir, the entire freedom movement...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will tell you what was done during the freedom movement. Let me tell you what we did in the freedom movement. Sir, the slogan at that time was, these Britishers, they are dividing us. They are having seven workers to make union so that more unions are there and they quarrel amongst themselves, so that they can exploit us We said:

'एक धंधा, एक संघ'

This was our slogan. We said when we will be free, we will have one industry, one union. That we our slogan. Now, what are you doing after our freedom? We are having more unions. Divide, not only along political lines, but even on other lines. Instead of having one industry, one union we want something else. I want participation by the workers themselves because as partners they have the real stake, their livelihood is at stake. They must have their representatives in the management fully. That will be real good, if you want it. But they are opposed to it. They say, no, workers cannot elect their workers representatives. Now, Sir, participation must be real.

SHRI S. W. BHABE: Please come to the Bill.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: On the Bill I have already spoken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The need of the hour is productivity, so, he is speaking on that.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Dhabe, you enlarged the scope you talked of production, you talked of this, you talked of the right of participation. Every Member talked of participation by labour. That is why I am replying.

Now, I am coming to the last point. Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta was very much agitated about the strike and the notices that have been given for eight days' wages being deducted for one day's strike. Sir, may I make it clear? We have given specific instructions that except in the case of those who belonged to the essential services or who indugled in violence or sabotage, no penal deduction of wages should be made. All trade unions unanimously had agreed that essential services people will not participate in the strike. Fire and other essential services normally do not participate in strike. And that was agreed. Therefore, such people who belonged to essential services and who participated in the strike only were given the show-cause notices and also those who indulged in violence or sabotage; I am sure no person here will support such people.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: There is no case of violence.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: If there is, you will not support; I am sure. As far as the seven lakh employees are concerned, we are not going to deduct 8 days wages as was done in the past. One day's wage only will be deducted; no work-no wage. That is all.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: On a point of clarification.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): He has covered all the points extensively.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Let me conclude and then I will clarify.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Who are the employees essential according to you?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Not according to me; according to the Act. You can ask some of your trade-union friends. There is an Act under which essential services are laid down.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Some coalminers work underground, some over ground, some under water. I asked how many of these seven lakh are out of the purview of the order?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I was speaking of those who come under that category. And their number is very small.

Now, the last point. What was the strike about? It was about NCWA-3 not being implemented. As I pointed out, all the things have been implemented and I have given figures about drinking water, about medical service, about ambulance etc. But the main point was employment to descendent of an employee retiring. If a person retires, employment is to be given to his descendent. As far as a person who dies is concerned, it is agreed that his dependent can be given employment but, Sir, kindly see if we were to make a law or an agreement in the country that every person who retired will get employment for his son, then no outsider will ever be able to get a job.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: It is dependent, given here.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It is dependent of a retiring person. Please see article 16 of the Constitution which in clear terms says:

> "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State."

Can you have an agreement which goes contrary to the fundamental rights? *Per se* to say that others just because they are not dependents or sons, will not be eligible for a job, will it not be violative of this article? We pointed it out to our friends but they will not agree. They said: No, you must abide by this agreement; otherwise we are going on strike. I pleaded with them that if you want, I can make a reference to the Supreme Court or anybody that you think is legally competent to give a verdict on this; but for Heaven's sake.... do not go on strike. (*Interruptions*)

Therefore, there was no reason for them to go on strike.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Have you conceded all their demands?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: We have conceded some demands. Wherever we have not conceded, we will try to meet, we will try to make up for the shortcomings if any. If you all wanted collectively to have a showdown, the loss is to the country. There was production loss worth Rs. 8 crores. Seven lakh workers have lost Rs. 100 per day This is their loss. Who is the gainer by this? I plead with folded hands with all my colleagues who are in the trade union movement. Kindly consider. If you want a structural change in the whole system, if you want workers' participation, please come forward to have genuine participation of workers. Colletively, we should produce to the maximum, bring down the price, make the OMS at least double so that the cost comes down, so that the cost of other infrastructure comes down. It is the duty of the representatives of the people and the country as such to believe in the principle of democratic socialism. Thank you very much.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, on a point of clarification. While talking to the Minister, I had given him copies of the show-cause notice which has been issued by Eastern Coalfields. Here again, there is another copy of such a notice.

This is being used indiscriminately. The subject mentioned here is 'Show—cause notice to be issued for the participation in strike on 9-4-86'. It does not make any mention that the show—cause notice is being issued in connection with any charge of violence or any such thing. This is being issued indiscriminately.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will explain.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, there is another point. I would ask the Minister to clarify this also.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : Do you not want to listen to me?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Please resume your seat, Mr. Gupta. He is replying to you.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, by letter dated 8th May, 1986, in reply to one of our senior Members of Parliament and trade union leader, Shri Basudev Acharya, I had clarified that our department has issued instructions to all Coal India companies that this action should be taken only against those—even if show—cause notices have been issued, I am making this statement—who were doing essential service and yet had gone on strike and against those who are responsible for violence or sabotage.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The question is:

That the Bill to repeal the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947 and to provide for certain matters incidental there as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 to 8 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, I beg to Move "That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Resolution of Draft National Policy Education, 1986

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: We shall now resume the discussion on the Draft National Policy on Education. Shri Rafique Alam to continue his speech.

श्री रफीक आलम (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसा कि मैं कह रहा था, सबसे पहले मैं अपने लोकप्रिय हरदिल अजीज प्राइम मिनिस्टर को दिली मुबारकबाद देता हूं जिन्होंने कोशिश की एजुकेशन कैसे फैले, शिक्षा प्रणाली में कौन सी तब्दीलियां लाई जायं कि इस मुल्क में लोग पढ़े-लिखे हों और उनको सुविधाएं मिलें । जैसा कि आप जानते हैं, आजादी के बाद सबसे बड़ी खराबी जो हम में आई वह यह कि हम अपने नैशनल करेक्टर को भूलते गए, कोई अपने को पंजाबी कहते हैं, कोई अपने को तामिलनाडु का कहते हैं, कोई आन्ध्र का कहते हैं और जब देश से बाहर जाते हैं तभी अपने को हिन्दुस्तानी कहते हैं । इस लिये शिक्षा के जरिये ही हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं । शिक्षा के जरिये ही मुल्क तरक्की कर सकता है और शिक्षा के जरिये ही हमारी आजादी कायम रह सकती है । यह जो पालिसी डाकूमेंट लाया गया है मैं इस को सपोर्ट करता हूं और चन्द बातें कहना चाहता हूं ।

कल कुछ आपोजीशन के नेताओं ने कहा कि एजुकेशन के सिलसिले में सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया है । आजादी के पहले जहां 5 करोड़ एजुकेटेड थे आज वहां 25 करोड़ हो गये हैं और फिर भी वे कहते हैं कि इस फील्ड में कुछ नहीं हुआ । हमारे बिहार में सिर्फ पटना यूनिवर्सिटी थी । आज हमारे यहां 6 यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं और पूरे मुल्क में 150 यूनिवर्सिटिज हैं । पूरे मुल्क में 5000 कालेजेज हैं और फिर भी कहते हैं कि मुल्क ने तरक्की नहीं की, शिक्षा में कोई प्रगति नहीं की । जो नेशनल पालिसी रखी गयी है उस के बारे में मैं चन्द सुझाव देना चाहता हूं ।

सब से पहली बात तो यह है कि मुल्क में 80 फीसदी लोग गांवों में रहते हैं । गांव में गरीबी की वजह से लोग अपने बच्चों को पढ़ा नहीं सकते और सब से ज्यादा ड्राप आउट